

Message Text

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ACTION EA-13

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-07 NSCE-00 PM-03 SP-01 L-02

CIAE-00 INR-11 NSAE-00 RSC-01 DODE-00 IO-03 SSO-00

INRE-00 PRS-01 DRC-01 /058 W
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O 140827Z SEP 74

FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5926

INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SEOUL 6101

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GFS

TAGS: PFOR KS JA

SUBJECT: ROK-JAPAN RELATIONS

REF A SEOUL 6099; B SEOUL 6003; C SEOUL 6061

SUMMARY: FONMIN KIM DONG-JO CALLED MID-AFTERNOON
SEPT 14 TO INFORM CHARGE OF NEW DEVELOPMENT IN NEGO-
TIATIONS WITH GOJ. JAPANESE EMBASSY COUNSELOR OKAZAKI
CONFIRMED MAIN POINTS. ESSENCE OF NEW DEVELOPMENT IS
ROKG WILLINGNESS TO DROP ATTEMPT TO CHANGE WORDING OF
TANAKA LETTER PROVIDED GOJ AGREES TO CLARIFICATION OF
LETTER'S INTENT BY MEANS OF PRE-NEGOTIATED AGREED
RECORD OF PARK/SHIINA MEETING. CLARIFICATION, ACCORDING
TO KIM, MUST BE BASED ON ROK DRAFT (REF B) AMENDED TO
INCLUDE MENTION OF CHOSEN SOREN. JAPANESE EMBASSY HAS
REPORTEDLY STRONGLY REQUESTED AUTHORITY TO ACCEPT PRO-
POSAL AND TO OPEN NEGOTIATIONS ON AGREED RECORD.
END SUMMARY.

1. FONMIN STARTED CALL TO CHARGE BY REFERRING TO TELEGRAM
FROM AMBASSADOR HAHM INDICATING THAT AMBASSADOR SNEIDER
WOULD TOUCH BASE IN TOKYO. AMB HAHM INDICATED THAT
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ASST SEC HABIB HAD URGED THAT ROKG TAKE NO PRECIPITOUS

ACTION UNTIL AMB SNEIDER'S ARRIVAL. (COMMENT: KIM DID NOT RELATE POSSIBILITY OF ANY RESULT FROM SNEIDER'S TOKYO STOPOVER TO DEVELOPMENTS DESCRIBED BELOW.)

2. FONMIN THEN WENT ON TO DESCRIBE EVENTS OF PAST TWO DAYS AND LATEST ROKG PROPOSAL FOR RESOLVING IMPASSE. FONMIN SAID THAT AT SEPT 13 MEETING WITH AMB USHIROKU (REF C), USHIROKU HAD SUGGESTED THAT ROKG ACCEPT TANAKA LETTER AS PRESENTLY WORDED BUT AT SAME TIME BOTH SIDES COULD AGREE TO A SIGNED AGREED MINUTE COVERING NOT ONLY QUESTION OF MORAL RESPONSIBILITY BUT OTHER PROBLEM AREAS. (THIS IS FIRST WE HAVE HEARD OF THIS PROPOSAL BY USHIROKU FROM EITHER JAPANESE OR KOREANS.) FONMIN SAID AT THE TIME HE REJECTED USHIROKU'S SUGGESTION OUT OF HAND, INSISTING THAT GOJ MUST BE WILLING TO ACCEPT SOME CHANGE IN TEXT OF TANAKA'S LETTER.

3. FONMIN SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN THEN BRIEFED PRIME MINISTER THIS MORNING ON SITUATION, INCLUDING US VIEWS. PRIMIN AND FONMIN THEN CALLED IN AMY USHIROKU.

4. ACCORDING FONMIN, PRIMIN HAD STRESSED TO USHIROKU THAT ROKG DOES NOT WISH TO SEE RUPTURE IN ROK-JAPAN RELATIONS. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT USG IS EXPECTING BOTH SIDES TO SETTLE THIS PROBLEM AMICABLY. PRIMIN SAID HE WISHED TO ASK ONCE AGAIN WHETHER THE GOJ FINDS IT IMPOSSIBLE TO CHANGE WHEN A SINGLE WORD IN THE TANAKA LETTER. IF IT WAS "PHYSICALLY IMPOSSIBLE" TO REDO THE TANAKA LETTER AND TO GET THE PRIMIN'S SIGNATURE, PRIMIN RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF FOLLOWING USHIROKU'S SEPT 13 SUGGESTION RE AN AGREED MINUTE.

5. USHIROKU RESPONDED THAT HE HAS RECEIVED NO INSTRUCTION OTHER THAN THAT HIS GOVT WISHED TO STICK TO SIGNED LETTER. USHIROKU SAID THAT IF ROKG WOULD AGREE TO ACCEPT TANAKA LETTER, HE PERSONALLY WOULD GIVE THE STRONGEST RECOMMENDATION TO HIS GOVT TO ACCEPT AN AGREED MINUTE. PRIMIN TOLD USHIROKU TO COMMUNICATE IMMEDIATELY TO HIS GOVT AND TO GET AN ANSWER BACK TO SEOUL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TODAY. PRIMIN STRESSED THAT ACCEPTANCE OF PRESENT TANAKA LETTER COUPLED WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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PRE-NEGOTIATED AGREED MINUTE WAS FINAL ROKG POSITION. ROKG COULD GO NO FURTHER.

6. FONMIN THEN GAVE CHARGE SUMMARY OF WHAT ROKG WOULD EXPECT AGREED MINUTE TO BE. FONMIN SAID THAT MINUTE SHOULD CONSIST OF:

A. AN INTRODUCTION STATING IT IS THE SUMMARY OF

SPECIAL ENVOY'S MEETING WITH PRES PARK AND REFLECTS
INTENT OR POSITION OF GOJ WITH RESPECT TO POINTS
OUTLINED IN LETTER;

B. FOUR POINTS WHICH IN ESSENCE WOULD INCORPORATE
LANGUAGE ROKG HAD PROPOSED FOR THE TANAKA LETTER (REF B);

C. INITIALLING OF THE AGREED MINUTE BY EITHER
SHIINA AND FONMIN OR, MORE LIKELY, USHIROKU AND FONMIN.

7. ROKG WANTED ONE KEY ELABORATION ON THE THIRD POINT (PARA 3
SEOUL 6003). IT WISHED SPECIFIC MENTION OF CHOSEN SOREN IN THE AGREED

MINUTE. ON THIS POINT FONMIN, SPEAKING FROM MEMORY,
SAID LANGUAGE SHOULD BE TO EFFECT THAT GOJ WILL PREVENT
AND EXERCISE CONTROL OVER ALL KINDS OF UNLAWFUL ACTS
BY CHOSEN SOREN AND OTHERS WITHIN JAPAN AIMED AT OVER-
THROW OF ROKG. FONMIN ALSO INDICATED THAT BOTH LETTER
AND AGREED MINUTE WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL, NOT PUBLICLY
RELEASED.

8. FONMIN SAID ROKG HAS NOW GONE AS FAR AS IT CAN AND
HAS IN FACT "SURRENDERED" TO
THE JAPANESE BY DROPPING INSISTENCE ON CHANGE IN
TANAKA LETTER. IT IS NOW UP TO THE JAPANESE TO RESPOND
QUICKLY. CHARGE THANKED HIM FOR HIS DESCRIPTION OF
CURRENT STATE OF NEGOTIATIONS AND, AT FONMIN'S REQUEST,
PROMISED TO CONVEY ABOVE BOTH TO WASHINGTON AND TO TOKYO.

9. COMMENT: THE ROKG HAS FINALLY CAPITULATED TO GOJ
ON ISSUE OF TANAKA'S LETTER. HOWEVER, FONMIN KIM WAS
NOT CLEAR IN HIS PRESENTATION AS TO WHETHER USHIROKU
HAD WITHER ACTUALLY PROPOSED, OR AGREED TO AN AGREED
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MINUTE, AS DESCRIBED BY FONMIN. USHIROKU IS NOW BEING
QUOTED BY PRESS AS INDICATING THERE MAY BE DRAMATIC,
FAVORABLE DEVELOPEMTN IN NEGOTIATIONS.

10 WHILE FONMIN DID NOT ELABORATE, HIS REFERENCE TO
CHOSEN SOREN "AND OTHERS" MEANS ROKG WILL PRESS NOT
ONLY FOR CONTROL OF CHOSEN SOREN BUT THE OTHER NON-COMMUNIST,
ANTI-PARK GROUPS IN JAPAN.

11. NEXT STEP IS JAPANESE ACCEPTANCE OF PROPOSAL TO
NEGOTIATIE AGREED MINUTE, AND JAPANESE EMBASSY BELIEVES
THEY MUST DO SO OR FACE CONSEQUENCES OF RUPTURE. GIVEN
THE PAINFUL NEGOTIATING EXPERIENCES OF THE PAST WEEKS,
AND KIND OF MINUTE KOREANS HAVE IN MIND, THERE WILL BE
MORE THORNY AND BYZANTINE ROUNDS OF NEGOTIOATIONS LEFT

BEFORE THE PRESENT SITUATION IS DEFUSED. HOWEVER,
UNLESS GOJ REJECTS LATEST ROK OFFER OUTRIGHT, BOTH
SIDES APPEAR TO HAVE FINALLY COME UPON A WAY OUT OF
THE CURRENT IMPASSE.
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